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ABSTRACT

This paper examines educational reform and practices in Sweden from 1940 to the present. There are three major sections. The first section discusses the first generation of school reforms from 1940 up to the end of the sixties. Section two examines the second generation of school reforms which started in the late sixties and are still going on. The Swedish school reforms can be described in terms of two types of cycles: the reform cycle and the adjustment cycle. The first generation of reforms aimed at an integrated, comprehensive organization of the school system on all levels. This was the basis for the second generation of reforms, which aimed at integrating the school into the community and adjusting resources to local demands, thereby partly decentralizing the school system. The consequence of the reforms has been that their primary ideological motive has been built mainly into the outer organization of the school system and the overall goals but has not been absorbed in the detailed syllabus. The third section of the paper looks at the newest and most exciting ideas that have emerged in Sweden during the last decade. For example, in the new curricula there has been a shift from curriculum units to a concept or thematic approach. This means that for each subject the central concepts to be mastered must be defined and the teaching must center around these concepts. (Author/RM)

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Between Schooling and Education.

Notes on curriculum changes within the second generation of school reforms in Sweden.

Paper presented at the convention of the American Educational Research Association in New York, 19-23 March, 1982.

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SO 014 141

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This paper is written for an invited speech at a symposium on curriculum innovation to be held at the annual meeting of the American Educational Association. The purpose of the speech is to organize a panel debate concerning the impact of educational innovations for curriculum practice. The paper is to be seen as a preliminary draft, which will be revised after the symposium.

Vallentuna the 8th of March, 1982.

Ulf P. Lundgren

The post-war educational reforms in the industrialized countries were reforms aimed at changing the responsibility of the school and thus resulted in prolonged schooling and comprehensive educational systems. These reforms have, of course, to be seen as a continuation of the pedagogical changes brought about by industrialization and migration. In that sense the educational reforms of the fifties and the sixties carried on a progressive educational movement from the beginning of this century which was, to agree with Cremin,:..."*a many-sided effort to use the schools to improve the lives of individuals. In the mind of Progressives this meant several things. First, it meant broadening the program and function of the school...Second, it meant applying in the classroom the pedagogical principles derived from new scientific research in psychology and the social sciences. Third, it meant tailoring instruction more and more to the different kinds and classes of children who were being brought within the purview of the school.....Finally, Progressivism implied the radical faith that culture could be democratized without being vulgarized, the faith that everyone could share not only the benefits of the new sciences but in the pursuit of the arts as well*" (Cremin, 1961, pp. viii - ix).

There is in progressivism a basic notion that the future can be planned by the aid of science. For education this means not only the rational planning of the educational system as such but even the rational planning and carrying out of teaching within the walls of classrooms.

The post-war educational reforms in Sweden, especially then on the compulsory level, have many times been used as examples of profound educational changes. One reason that these reforms have attracted so much international interest is that they appear and are described as rational planned reforms. Thus verifying the basic progressivistic assumption that education can be developed rationally and in an interplay between decision-makers and researchers.

In this invited paper I have been asked to reply to three questions:

1. *What are the newest and most exiting ideas concerning curriculum that have emerged in Sweden during the past decade?*
2. *To what extent have these ideas influenced practice?*
3. *What lessons can curriculum theorists learn from the study of school practice?*

Basically I refuse to accept the idea that schooling or education is changed by innovations. Innovations as conceptual and idealistic structures can of course be formed but innovations as the basis of change of educational systems and curricula can be profoundly questioned.

An educational innovation is not formed in an empty space, which of course is truistic to say. But it is important to recognize the context of formulation, where innovations are created reflecting then prevailing ideas about what education is and ought to be. In the moment an innovation is implemented, it will be transformed to a context of realization. The conditions regulating the context of formulation and the context of realization are quite different especially then concerning how the innovation is legitimated.

If an innovation has an impact on schooling it is not because of the innovation in itself but that the practice that can be formed responds to needs and that there are power conditions that can mobilize a justification of an innovation. In following that line of thinking I have to point out briefly the main components constituting the changes of the Swedish educational system. It is within that specific context to which these three questions will be responded. In brief, my standpoint is that curriculum changes are built neither on rational decisions nor innovations, but are an interplay between scientific work, ideas, traditions, values, power relations in the society and coincidences. This is the standpoint from which I will answer the questions suggested for this paper.

The reform of the compulsory school system in Sweden began in 1940 and ended in 1962 with a parliamentary decision on the curriculum for the nine-year comprehensive school. This decision led to demands for a reform of the high school system, which was implemented in 1966 and of a reform of tertiary education that was implemented in 1977. The post-war reform of the Swedish educational system can be described as two main reform cycles (cf. Lundgren, 1977, 1981a). Within each reform cycle we can identify an adjustment cycle. The first main reform cycle includes the reforms from 1940 up to the end of the sixties - the first generation of modern school reforms. The second generation started in the late sixties and is still going on.

During the forties there were, besides the seven-year elementary school, seven other school forms, for example four-year and five-year lower secondary schools, the practical lower secondary school, the six-year and seven-year girls' municipal school. At the high school level a similar divided scene existed. This differentiation created problems concerning

the responsibility for financing between local authorities and central authorities and problems in defining levels of competence for further schooling. A very divided educational system creates obvious administrative problems calling for more comprehensive schooling.

It is possible to identify four motives of main importance for the beginning of the first generation of school reforms. First, the changes in the population structure. During the period 1943 - 1952 the numbers of children within school age increased. From the mid-twenties until the end of the forties the number of the students in the lower secondary school increased from 10% of an age cohort to 38%, which clearly illustrates the individual demands for education as a consequence of the more close relations between education and the labour market that more technical advanced production processes brought forward (cf. Broady, 1980, Lundgren 1981b). These increases in the number of students were mainly an urban phenomenon, which put into focus the allocation of resources within the country. The urbanization is also the second motive for school reforms. From the beginning of the 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century, the urban population doubled (from 10% to 20%). Around 1943 another doubling had taken place and by 1950 more than half of the population lived in urban areas (51.5%). Thirdly the changes in the world of life connected education more closely than before with the labour market. As Dahllöf points out in his review of educational planning in Sweden *"These demands from the society can, for example, be explained by the change in structure within the various branches of the economy as a result of technical changes and rationalization procedures. A well known example of the fact that demands of this type have consequences for the education of qualified labour is offered by some estimates*

from the fifties over the relationship between production development and the proportion of engineers among the total numbers of employed within industry, the so-called 'engineer density'....The engineer density increased from 1.6% in 1935 to 3.2% in 1959." (Dahllöf, 1971, p. 12, our translation). The fourth motive was the political one of creating a democratic school for a democratic society. The impact of the development of fascism in Europe gave the school a central role in building the political base for a democratic society.

The first generation of school reforms was centered around the forming of a comprehensive school system. This comprehensive school system can of course be seen as an innovation. An innovation that was created and articulated during the early part of this century. The context for this formulation was a society in change, in which schooling became more and more linked to the labour market, in which administrative problems in coordinating a differentiated school system, spontaneously responding to new demands from production, and in which political demands on increasing time for schooling and moulding a new citizen gave the basic legitimative structure. The formulation of this innovation was done in a context in which the politicians could handle the planning process. The result was a political compromise. When this decision was to be transformed to the context of realization the ideas of the comprehensive school were transformed. The comprehensive school had to be adjusted to an established pedagogical tradition and to a society in rapid change. The power over the school system was also transformed from the field of politics to the field of practice, where administrative and union interests dominated, just to mention two power structures. The school that was formed and realized was then quite something else than what was formulated from the beginning. Thus the innovation had left the world of ideas and successively been

transformed to the world of pedagogical reality. I will not discuss the comprehensive school as an educational innovation, but just indicate this process, where an innovation is formulated, realized and thereby gives birth to ideas for new innovations.

The first generation of school reforms.

In order to describe the changes of the Swedish school system I must start with the planning procedure.

The members of the various school committees and commissions that have investigated the educational system and proposed new reforms were appointed by Parliament. The reports of the work of these committees were published as official documents (SOU) which were sent to various interested groups, institutions and organizations and presented to the public for comment. These reports and their reactions were then used as a basis in the preparation of a Bill which was presented to Parliament. After the passage of the Bill, the National Board of Education (NBE) was given the responsibility for developing the curricula and carrying out the school reform as contained in the Bill.

The work of reforming the school system and creating the nine-year compulsory school was begun by the School Committee of 1940. The wartime coalition government set up a committee of experts with fourteen educators and university men under the leadership of the Minister of Ecclesiastics (in Sweden this Ministry had charge of education at that time). It is true that the compulsory school had already undergone profound changes, but the purpose of the 1940 School Committee was to reach an overall view of future school planning. The Committee's directives included not only the reform of the compulsory school, but also of the high schools (SOU 1944:20). In 1946 the Committee was superseded by a parliamentary School Commission (SOU 1948:27).

The School Commission formulated ten main objectives for the school system: care, study training, language and mathematical skills, general culture education, aesthetic training, practical training, vocational training, social training, health education and personality development. It was proposed that methods should be brought up to date, that pupils be more strongly motivated to participate in school work and that instruction should be more individualized. The constant changes in society, it was said, demanded not only factual knowledge but also ability and skill in discovering and assimilating new knowledge. Here arose a long-debated question concerning the influencing of pupils' attitudes. The pupils were to be encouraged to work both independently and to evaluate critically what they learned.

> *"Instruction must not be authoritarian as it would be if it served a particular political doctrine, even if this doctrine were democracy's own. Quite the contrary, democratic instruction must be based on a scientific foundation."* (SOU 1948:27, p. 3. Our translation)

A change in the curriculum content was proposed. The subjects of Swedish literature, history, geography, biology, physics and chemistry were to be enlarged, along with practical subjects, and English would be taught one year earlier than before, beginning with grade five. The school would be organized as a nine-year undifferentiated compulsory school.

In 1950 a School Bill was introduced in Parliament (Prop. 1950:70), and the establishment of a ten-year experimental period was decided upon.

In 1957 Parliament established a new Preparatory Committee to draw up the plans for the compulsory school on the basis of the experiences of the experimental period. The Preparatory Committee was directed to set down the goals of the school,

its organization, the estimated financial costs and necessary changes in the law. This Committee reported to Parliament in 1962 (SOU 1961:31), which voted in the same year for the introduction of the nine-year compulsory school "grundskolan").

Although the post-war school debate had concerned itself mainly with the form of the new compulsory school, the directives for the School Committee of 1940 had also included the investigation of the academic high school ("gymnasium"). So, in 1953 the National Board of Education changed the organization and curriculum of these schools, but these changes were only provisional and a Preparatory Committee for the academic high school was set up in 1960. The 1957 Preparatory Committee had proposed a continuation school ("fackskola") and in 1962 a special preparatory committee for the continuation school was set up. The entire system of secondary education was now under control. The proposals for the academic high school (SOU 1963:42) and the continuation school (SOU 1963:50) were presented in 1963 and Parliament accepted them in 1964. The Preparatory Committee for Vocational Schools presented its first report in 1966 (SOU 1966:3).

The reform of the secondary school system was a direct consequence of the compulsory school reform. As with the primary level, the demands for change in the secondary school were clearly expressed concerning the quantity of students examined as well as the students' knowledge and skill repertoires. As an example of a study carried out for the Committee concerning the quantitative dimension of the school system Härnqvist (1958) estimated the "talent reserve." Even if there were differences in estimation related to methods used, the outcomes clearly showed a great potential of individuals for further education. With an increase of demands for manpower in academic and professional areas, the development of this potential was a necessity, as well as a question of educational equality.

The launching of a continuation school was an expression of the demand for manpower educated to a level between the academic high school and the compulsory school.

Hence, the continuation school fulfilled demands from the expanding service sector (i.e., nursing, teaching, etc.). The continuation school, and later the corresponding lines within the integrated high school, were also the basis for further education within special schools (for example nursery school, teacher college, etc.), as well as granting qualifications to engineers and economists.

In 1971, a new integrated high school began amalgamating the "gymnasium", the continuation school and the vocational school. It included 22 different study lines, and the length of schooling varied from 2-4 years. The 3- and 4-year lines more or less corresponded to the earlier academic high school, while the 2-year lines corresponded to the former continuation and vocational schools.

Much of this reform work was linked to the idea of recurrent education. The reason for this is that, with the prolongation of schooling, the increasing number of individuals who have not been given the opportunities of continuous studies demand more education and need more education. The reason for the increase in recurrent education is due not only to the desire to provide everyone with the opportunity to study, but also to changes in the labor market. Hence, the development of the non-formal educational system (study circles, etc.) has paralleled that of the formal system. Financial support given to adults increased as well, and the entrance requirements to universities were changed to favour students with working experience.

In 1968 a committee on tertiary education was created, consisting of the Heads of the National Board of Education and the National Labor Market Board and University Chancellors.

It was headed by the State Secretary for the Ministry of Education. The committee had to draft a proposal for the planning of education at the tertiary level during the 70's.

The tendency towards more regulated studies was heavily criticized by students and teachers. The main opposition centered around the question of the extent to which the demands of the labor market should govern the single student's choice of study. This opposition eventually led to the changing of the first proposal (UKAS).

The earlier mentioned committee (U 68) published their main proposals in 1973 (SOU 1973:2, SOU 1973:12, SOU 1973:47). In May, 1975 Parliament decided upon a new reform of the whole tertiary level, to be implemented in July, 1977. This reform changed drastically the whole tertiary level. The main thrust of the reform is that all tertiary education is organized comprehensively. The country is divided into regions that work in accordance with regional demands on tertiary education. Societal influence has increased in the sense that the boards of the different regions are composed of representatives from unions and interest groups. The various study lines are adjusted to each other in terms of the over-arching goals. Finally, all tertiary education is organized in various study lines which aim at specific sectors of the labor market.

From our point of view, interesting aspects of these reforms are the links between those reforms, relating them to different educational levels. A major characteristic of all these reforms has been that they were organizational reforms, which were motivated by two things. The first and most visible motive has been the social one aiming at the creation of a school system that offers the same opportunities for everyone. The second motive has been to create a school system that qualifies labor in accordancd with the structural changes in society.

The last step in what we have described here as the first modern reform cycle was the reform of the pre-school.

In 1968 a committee concerning pre-school education and day-care centers was established. The objectives for this committee were to:

1. Investigate the goals for the activities in pre-schools and day-care centers.
2. Provide recommendations concerning the content and design of these activities.
3. Penetrate the forms and the extent of a pre-school.
4. Discuss how pre-schools should be related to day-care centers.

In 1974 (SOU 1974:42) the committee published its proposal, and in 1975 the Parliament decided upon the pre-school reforms. Pre-school begins at six years of age, is one year long, and is not compulsory. There is no pre-school curriculum, but in the guidelines for activities a specific type of pedagogy is put forward. The main idea ("dialogue-pedagogy") is an amalgamation of theories developed by Piaget and Homburger Eriksson, with seeds of thoughts from Paulio Freire. Because of the lack of a formal curriculum, this pedagogy could be called an "invisible pedagogy" (see Bernstein, 1975).

With the proposals for the reforms of the tertiary and pre-school levels, the first generation of modern Swedish school reforms, which began with the work of the 1940 School Committee ended. The reform of the compulsory school, which was linked to changes in the economic and social structure of society triggered off the reforms of the secondary level. The next step was a more comprehensively organized tertiary system, and the last step was the introduction of a pre-school system related to the comprehensive school.

In this development, certain common features are discernable. One is that these reforms have all been organizational reforms, as was pointed out earlier. The second is that these reforms

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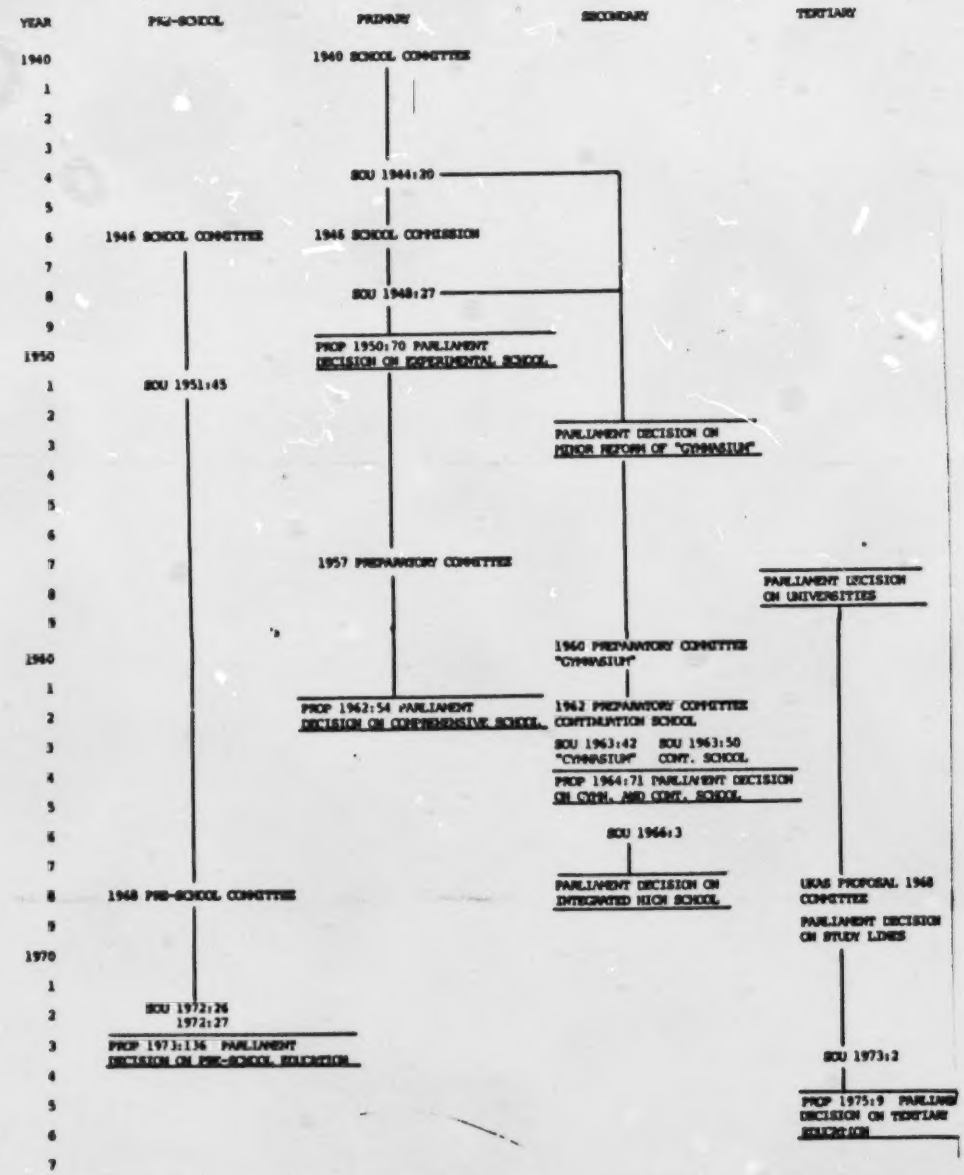

Fig. 1. A schematic overview of the first cycle of educational in Sweden.

have been carried out in order to create an educational system that gives equality of opportunity to all those entering school. The third is that the reforms have been successively adjusted to a society that, at the same time, became increasingly industrialized and urbanized. The fourth is that these reforms have demanded a more and more centralized system of educational administration. The implementation and continuous revisions of the school systems have needed "in-built cycles" of reforms (the adjustment reforms) to be handled

by a bureaucratic organization. Hence, as new reforms have been implemented, power and control over the educational system has successively moved from politically-appointed persons to bureaucraically-appointed persons.

The changes in economic structure during the sixties and the seventies were characterized by the increasing concentration of ownership and decision-making processes within industry, and an increasingly active state policy. The passage of the school reforms constitutes a good example of the latter development. Small industries, businesses and small-scale farming diminished because of a concentration into larger units. This was coupled with an increasing concentration of the population into urban areas. The new comprehensive schools, with all study lines demanded fairly great school units. The newly built schools were often located in housing areas which had grown up as a result of this concentration to urban areas. One consequence of this type of planning was that the larger schools often had more social problems than the smaller ones, and also tended to receive fewer resources. For example, the teacher-student ratio was set at 1:28, and a new teacher could be employed after this ratio was passed. Hence, in a small school an extra student to a class of 28 would result in two classes of 14 and 15 students respectively. But an extra student to 10 classes of 28 students each would only lead to 11 classes of 26 students each.

The concentration of school problems to certain, mainly suburban, areas constituted a basic motive for the second cycle of reforms. Another was the increasing awareness of the manner in which the comprehensive school functioned in relation to its goals. For example, the most popular courses of study were the theoretical ones, and this choice was, furthermore, linked to social background and sex.

In 1970, the new curriculum suggested by the National Board of Education was implemented. The general feature of this

curricula was to make the comprehensive school still more comprehensive. The great variation in study choices offered earlier was decreased to only a few, and these were so arranged that they could all grant the necessary qualifications for the new, integrated secondary school system.

This new reform meant that the frames were stronger. The comprehensive school had more or less inherited a curriculum from the parallel school system which had been adjusted so that all students should have the chance to continue to high school, but at the same time the high school system demanded specific prerequisites. Thus, the streaming within the comprehensive school actually followed fairly closely the streaming in the earlier, parallel school systems. The change of 1970 also meant that individual choice diminished because of the tendency towards more theoretical courses of study. Students who could choose practically-oriented courses in Grade 9 in 1962 had now to take more theoretical subjects. Thus, the general trend has been an increase in the heterogeneity of school classes in accordance with specific prerequisites that were determined by the high school. The combination of it has meant a greater degree of differentiation within the school system.

Some other changes did occur, of course, such as the introduction of a "free choice activity," in which the students could choose the activities they wished. In general, however, the trend was towards change to more theoretically-oriented courses of study. To some extent, this change explains the increase in remedial teaching during the seventies, as differentiation was manifested not only in course-of-study choice, but also in the amount of remedial teaching.

The quantitative development in remedial resources is amply illustrated in the figure below, from the report of the 1970 Committee on the internal workings of the school

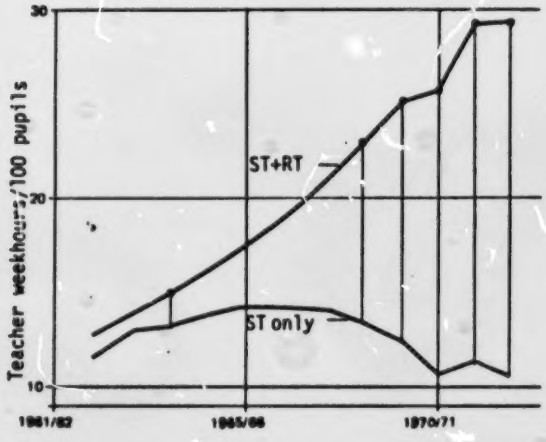

Fig. 2. The development on the use of special classes (SC) and remedial teaching (RT) between 1961/62 and 1972/1973 in the Swedish comprehensive school system. (Source: SOU 1974:53, p. 138.)

The 1970 Committee (SIA), which we shall discuss below more in detail, notes that during the single year of 1972 approximately 40 per cent of all students in the comprehensive school had some contact with remedial teaching in one form or another.

In summary, the most important factors we have discussed are:

1. Although the goals of the school were radically altered, no such corresponding change occured in the curriculum content.
2. The organizational frames became increasingly stronger.
3. The first reform required very large schools in order to be able to offer all the possible courses of study.
4. The changes in the labor market led to increasing urbanization.
5. The public sector in society increased rapidly, requiring new types of qualifications.

6. The entire school system is centralized and all schools were treated the same, irrespective of their social and pedagogical problems.
7. Control over the development of the educational system gradually passed from the political body to administrators and educational experts.

Another consequence of this complex web of changes was that discipline problems increased. The changes in the structure of the labor market towards unskilled and service work also gave a new dimension to school problems.

In the general debate on education in Parliament in 1970, two themes were in focus. Firstly the evaluation of the school system. The main issue was whether the National Board of Education should be responsible for both curriculum development and evaluation.

The other theme concerned the acute problems in the schools, especially the discipline problems and the working situation. Parliament decided to ask the Ministry of Education to institute a Parliamentary Committee to investigate these problems.

The second generation of school reforms.

This 1970 Committee (SIA) is thus the starting point for what we shall call the second generation of school reforms in Sweden.

In the Committee directives, the Minister stated:

> *"During the last years the public school system has been built up quantitatively as well as qualitatively. The aim has been to give all youth education without the interference of economic, social or geographical conditions. We are now facing a new phase in the development of education...This development opens up new opportunities for taking into consideration the special characteristics of each student. The reforms, however, have also led to a need for change in the internal workings of the school. Research in education has, during recent years, been directed towards questions connected with*

individualized instruction. If all students are to have an equal education, a series of specific measures must be taken, as general reforms can disfavour those groups that for various reasons are not able to make use of their new opportunities.
(Protocol 1970-05-27, p. 1. Our translation.)

The Committee was directed to concentrate upon how to make school more meaningful for students who had problems. The content of the curriculum, however, was not to be dealt with by the Committee. This last is especially interesting for, as was earlier pointed out, the National Board of Education had proposed a new curriculum that was accepted by Parliament in 1969. It was important that this new curriculum would be implemented, but at the same time it is obvious that this decision placed great constraints upon the Committee. The task of making education meaningful, without discussing its content, is a rather difficult one. This situation provides a concrete illustration of the way in which curriculum and organization have been perceived in Sweden. The curriculum has been generally looked upon as the concern of specialists. Equalization effects, for example, have not been interpreted in relation to the content of teaching. As was discussed earlier, the curriculum represents to some extent the interest of special groups in society. And as control over the educational reforms during the first cycle moved to administrators and experts, we would expect that the influence of the political system would be constrained in the second reform cycle. Thus, the politicians in the 1970 Committee were constrained by the changes which had been introduced by the National Board of Education. As well, the Chairman of the 1970 Committee was the Head of this Board.

In 1974 (SOU 1974:53) the Committee delivered its proposals. The main suggestions were:

1. That the school day should start and end at the same time every day.
2. That the school should be integrated with leisure activities arranged by the community and would function as a leisure center after the school day.

3. That the school day would provide three types of activities: a) ordinary school work, b) free-choice activities, and c) non-compulsory activities. Thus the student would work with ordinary school work and free-choice activities (compulsory) during the day, and after school would participate in freely-chosen activities if he wanted to. Thus the school would take on more responsibility for the children to help working parents, etc.
4. That the transition between stages in the school system should be smoother.
5. That a special education be provided for principals and that all teachers have inservice training in remedial teaching.
6. That personal resources could be used more freely at the school level.
7. That teaching be planned and carried out in larger units (up to 70-90 students). This did not mean that they be taught in these groups, but that the teachers should plan to use common resources.
8. That laboratory methods be used more and that the students should take part more actively in the planning of teaching.
9. That each school would have a board with the principal as chairman, and with representatives from the students, parents and teachers.
10. That continuous evaluation of the schools be made as a basis for the distribution of resources.

These proposals triggered off a public debate about school problems which was more intense than the debates about earlier reforms. The response period was extended and parts of the proposal were changed in Parliament. The main suggestions, however, remained more or less intact (Prop. 1975/76:39).

The most interesting features of the SIA proposals were the trends toward decentralization and the attempts to integrate the school more into the local community. The school accepted greater responsibility for social care, and methods in the schools changed. The influence of the pre-school was also apparent, in the introduction of "dialogue-pedagogics".

The Swedish school system is state-financed, but resources for leisure activities are supplied by local communities. A community reform has been implemented which aims at creating communities that are economically independent. The integration between school and leisure activities suggested in the SIA proposal implies that the financing system between the state and the communities should be changed. In 1972 a new Committee chaired by the Head of the National Board of Education began to investigate this relationship.

The results of the SIA proposal affected the secondary level as well as the universities. In 1976, a new Committee for the secondary school system was established, headed by the Vice-President of the National Board of Education and later taken over by a Professor of Education (Urban Dahllöf), the Dahllöf High School Committee.

The adjustment cycle.

The reform cycle described here could not possibly cover all possibilities in a rapidly changing society. It had to be supplemented with shorter reform cycles operating within the framework of the general reforms. We shall term these cycles "adjustment cycles". When the decision on the comprehensive school system and the high school reform was taken it also included the responsibility for the National Board of Education.

The instructions to the National Board of Education (NBE) state:

"It shall see that education, as far as content and methods are concerned, continuously is renewed, developed and improved, keeping pace with the findings of research and

with the developments within official and private administration, in the economic life of the country and the labour market, as well as in other areas of society."
(His Royal Majesty's Instructions to the National Board of Education: SFS 1965:737 § 37. Our translation.)

This meant that the NBE had not only to implement the reforms, but also to evaluate them and then suggest new changes and guidelines to Parliament.

After the curriculum reform of 1969, earlier mentioned, the next phase in the adjustment cycle began. Within the NBE a new group was created to work out the guidelines for a new curriculum and new models for evaluation (MUT). The first directives to the MUT groups stressed that the goals for sub-sections of the curriculum should be stated as precisely as possible. Thus, this group was influenced by educational technology and trends within curriculum planning emanating from the USA. The planners' commitment to individualization came to be linked to various types of teaching materials. As the great curriculum reforms in the USA came just at the end of the planning of the 1962 comprehensive school reform, the influence of this curriculum movement was not apparent in Sweden until the NBE adjustment reforms of 1970. "New math" was introduced, linked to a special system for individualization, and there was a trend towards a more integrated type of curricula containing "block subjects", such as natural science and social science, for example.

The MUT group wanted to construct a competency-based curriculum, in which the goal should be the middle-mark (3 in a 5-point scale). But when this system came under fire, the direction of work in the new curriculum gave way to two new ones. One group favored having basic courses at the core of the curriculum, while the other favored a "dialogue-pedagogy" approach. This represents an attempt to "put the student back in the curriculum" and is manifested not so much in strategies as in particular attitudes taken towards the child.

The development of the Swedish school reforms has been described in terms of two types of cycles: the reform cycle and the adjustment cycle. The first generation of reforms aimed at an integrated, comprehensive organization of the school system on all levels. This was the basis for the second generation of reforms, which aimed at integrating the school into the community and adjusting resources to local demands, thereby partly decentralizing the school system. In 1978 the NBE again suggested a new curriculum for the comprehensive school. We will return to that proposal.

The consequence of the reforms has been that their primary ideological motive has been built mainly into the outer organization of the school system and the overall goals but has not been consequently absorbed in the detailed syllabus.

As the implementation and the evaluation were to be carried out by the same group, the control over the whole system had moved over to administrators and specialists.

It is interesting to note in this context how well articulated this view on the responsibility for curriculum construction already existed during the planning of the first reform cycle. When the 1957 Preparatory Committee published the results of the work of the curriculum group (cf. also Kallós & Lundgren, 1976, 1977) it stated in the preface:

> *"It can be legitimate to ask the question whether a Committee composed according to the principles which have been used should devote such an intense interest to questions pertaining to the curriculum guide as the Committee actually has done. The detailed treatment of these issues presented here is foremost to be considered as a task for specialists. Apart from what the directives impose upon the Committee concerning*

*the syllabus, the **proposals** for the curriculum which are presented here aim at illustrating the meaning of the declarations of principle and the proposals of the Committee and an evaluation of those, as well as to facilitate the work for central, regional, and local authorities and publishing companies, teaching aid companies and others that each in their own way have responsibility and interest to realize the decisions which will be the consequence of the proposals of the School Committee. The presentation of comparatively complete curriculum proposals already, in connection with the main proposal of the Committee, should furthermore make it easier for teacher and principals - who above all will be responsible for the realization of the decisions about the intended content - to gain a thorough knowledge at an early stage of the intended content of the comprehensive school and the continuation school".*

(SOU, 1961:31, p. 5. Our translation.)

As was pointed out, the comprehensive reforms have had no dramatic equalizing effects in terms of social background, although it is true that the opportunities for further education for working class pupils have increased. This can be interpreted by the notion that the school is working in accordance with conditions created by the ruling class. The school system is a part of an ideological state apparatus, which means that it will reproduce the ideology of the ruling class. But as Poulantzas (1975) points out, the school does not produce the ideology.

"In referring to ideological apparatuses, we must recognize that these apparatuses neither create the ideology, nor are they even the sole or primary factors in reproducing relations of ideological domination or subordination. Ideological apparatuses only serve to fashion and inculcate (materialize) the dominant ideology. Thus Max Weber was wrong in claiming that the Church creates and perpetuates religion: rather it is religion which creates and perpetuates the Church."

(Poulantzas, 1975, p. 31.)

We can claim that the frames and the curriculum themselves do not produce the ideology that governs the teaching process, but rather it is the ideology which produces a specific school system, frames and curriculum that will reflect this ideology. The ideology in its turn is a reflection of historical and material conditions.

The point here is that we can indicate fairly clearly how economic, political and social changes in society are reflected in the organization of the school system and curriculum, and how the frames and goal systems governing education form conditions for teaching that correspond to these societal changes so that the school fulfils its external functions.

In other words, the alternations in the economic and social structure have led to a demand for different types of qualifications. This change in demand has been made not only by political groups representing various social strata in society, but more and more by a group of administrators. The qualifications now desired were more individualistic in emphasis, stressing the need for cooperative, creative individuals. This development has, then, been linked to values concerning equality. Hence, while the curriculum reforms have been carried out supposedly in accordance with other fairly radical reforms, the detailed planning of the curricula has, at the same time, been left to subject specialists so that the changes in the curriculum have <u>not</u> been in complete adcordance with the overall organizational changes.

As the evaluation of the school system is also the responsibility of those who control the educational system and its ideology it is unlikely that any radical changes can occur.

The teaching process is controlled to a large extent by the centralized system. Although the syllabus only gives

directions, no other alternatives exist. The textbooks steer the process. In the comprehensive school the first stage (grades 1-3) is governed by the requirements of the second stage (grades 4-6), and this stage is governed by the requirements of grades 7-9. The comprehensive school is governed by the high school system and the high school system by the educational system at the tertiary level. At the school level there are few degrees of freedom for local adjustment and control. The whole system is strongly framed and classified by textbooks, controlled by central tests and differentiated by the grading system. At the same time, the whole system has always been seen as an open one, and the ideology shared by teachers, parents and students is that the system provides fairly equal opportunities to all.

Finally, to summarize the description of how the educational system in Sweden changed, I will point out the following:

1. The first generation of school reforms was formulated in a political context. The context for formulation was rather broad and gave space for advanced ideas on education and the scope of schooling. The economic development gave a basis for an expansion of the school system.

2. The context of realization for the first generation of school reforms was a context in which the expansion of the school system dominated. This expansion legitimated a centralized administration and of course increased the number of teachers and thereby the power of teacher unions. During this expansion the various interest groups concerned with schooling were organized and given power.

3. Thus during the realization of the first generation of school reforms the power over the planning was moved from a political context to an administrative context and more and more exposed to cooperative influences.

4. The context for formulation of the second generation of school reforms was then both more restricted and more complicated than the context for formulation of the first generation of school reforms. As a consequence the administrative bodies identified themselves more and more with planning tasks and the implementation of the second generation of school reforms was moved over to local administrative bodies and to the local school system. Thus the shifting from a centralized school system to a decentralized one can be seen as changes in responsibility, where central politically formulated programs have been implemented by the central administration, which then has been given the power to formulate new programs that have caused the shift over to local implementation and local political formulation of educational programs.

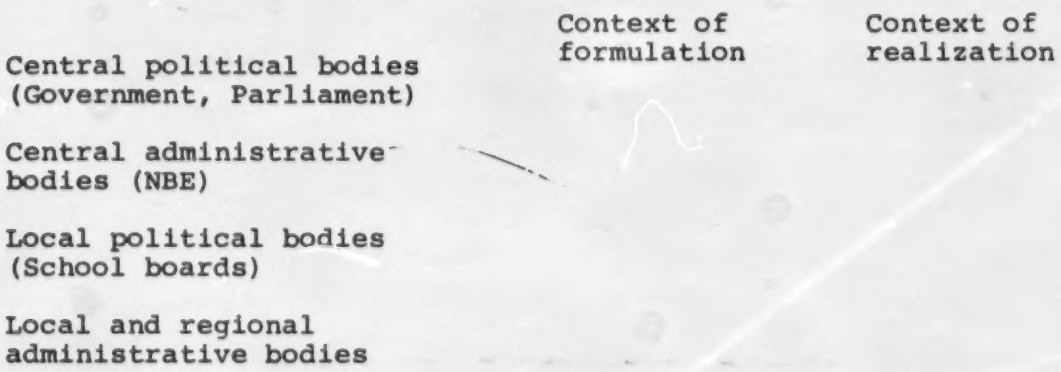
Context of formulation
Context of realization
Central political bodies (Government, Parliament)
Central administrative bodies (NBE)
Local political bodies (School boards)
Local and regional administrative bodies

Fig. 3. Schematic figure over relations between political, administrative structures and the two generations of school reforms.

What are the newest and most exciting ideas concerning curriculum that have emerged in Sweden during the last decade?

This has been a long answer to the question given to me, but it has been a necessary way to go in order to identify the meaning and the consequences of what can be identified as an educational innovation.

As was indicated earlier, the central administrative body - The National Board of Education - has come to be the body within which new programs for the school were formulated and where innovations were filtered, accepted or rejected and where the results of research and development were used. Within what I have called the adjustment cycle the National Board of Education was obliged to make proposals on curriculum reforms. During the seventies, as noted before, the planning of the curriculum for the eighties was first founded in an idea that the curriculum partly could be defined in behavioral terms and competency based. As this idea could not be realized, the whole conceptualization of the new curriculum changed. And a curriculum directed towards the personal and social goals was formed around a conceptualization of the pedagogical methods as a subject - subject relationship. The criticism of the rational - behavioral curriculum was also interpreted in such a way that the forming of the new curriculum should be done in collaboration with groups that had interests in the new curriculum. A series of reference groups was constituted in which representatives from the political parties, labour unions, etc., participated. In doing that, the whole process of formulation became a field of struggle in which the solution of each skirmish was to make the text abstract, so each part could claim the right of interpretation. The proposal that was delivered to the government was then extremely abstract,

filled with value terms but hard to interpret concretely in the context of realization. This opened a space for a new political influence on the curriculum. The government, at that time a liberal minority government, appointed a new curriculum group of three persons with the task of formulating a new proposal for the Parliament. In breaking the power structure established over the process of curriculum planning space was given for a rather different curriculum. Space does not exist here for a detailed description of what this curriculum contained. I will just point out what I see as the most important features in this context.

1. The link between the comprehensive school system and the high school system was broken, i.e., that no line or course taken in the comprehensive school will give advantages for continuing education.
2. The central curriculum will give the frame for the work but in each school a local program will be formulated.
3. This local program will be the base for how resources are allocated and should then be continuously evaluated and followed up and revised.
4. The earlier curricula were constructed around curriculum units. In the new one there is a shift from curriculum units to central concepts. This means that for each subject the central concepts to be mastered must be defined and the teaching should be centered around these concepts.

I will take this last point as an example of an exciting idea that has emerged. By tradition the curriculum has been built around the single school subjects and within the school subjects the curriculum units constitute the skeleton. The consequence of this way of designing a

curriculum is that for each revision the curriculum has been more and more overloaded. New demands on the content have led to new units but still the old one has remained. The priority problem has then been more and more complicated, resulting in a situation in which the textbooks take over the role of the curriculum.

The main idea of central concepts is that these on the one hand point out what are important political decisions to take concerning the content of the curriculum and on the other hand they will give the priorities for the teaching process. Thus the teaching of the concept of imperialism - to take one example - can be done by various types of content. The important thing is that the student learns what imperialism is. Now a concept of that type is given in quite a different situation, in which it is difficult for the student to identify what is the important part of the knowledge to be learned. Behind this idea is also the notion that this will open up new ways of collaboration in the school and give reasons for interdisciplinary work.

The central concepts have then a series of pedagogical consequences. In this new curriculum the central concepts in the curriculum are structuring other changes.

More of thematic work will be carried out and the teaching will shift more over to project work. The planning of the teaching as well as the follow up will be organized in teacher teams that are responsible for a bigger group than the class and that can dispose certain resources and also will be given aid for experimental work. The local curriculum programs are then the natural frame of reference for the teacher teams. Around these pedagogical tasks the in-service training will be built up. As a consequence of the new curriculum the in-service training programs change

completely. The local school board will have more power than before and will decide on the local allocation of resources and the evaluation of the use of resources.

I am sorry that I here only can sketch the outlines of this curriculum change. My point is not, however, to describe in detail but to give the outlines. What I have tried to do is to show how a space for innovation was created and what this led to. This new curriculum could be looked upon as an innovation of the same importance as the comprehensive school reform once was. But as the comprehensive school reform was an innovation created by a specific economic, political, social and cultural change and possible to formulate in a specific context, this new curriculum can be described in the same way. It is not created in the mind of a group of persons; it is a way of thinking that the changes in schooling and the overwhelming changes in the society have made possible. And it is a specific change in the planning of the schools and the composition of power over the school system that opened up a new context for formulation within which this type of thinking was possible.

This new curriculum is going to be implemented from the first of July, 1982. This means that the innovations here described are formulations of school programs. They do not exist. At the moment they are to be implemented something else will be done. Not that teachers cannot understand written texts and intentions, but the implementation will be done in a context of realization, in which the innovation has to be fitted to an ongoing practice and in which it has to be legitimated in new ways and above all in which it will be exposed for new struggles in the local community. What this will result in can to some extent be predicted, but in other senses is completely unknown. Within our research group at the Stockholm Institute of Education we are preparing a study in three communities,

where we will follow the implementation of the new curriculum. This study will be an analysis of how the program was formed in the context of formulation and how it is formed in the context of realization. Using the paradigm for evaluation in which evaluation is seen as the comparison of objectives with results, this study could be seen as a more theoretically oriented evaluation in which the context of formulation is analyzed and compared with analyses of the context of formulation. Hopefully, then, this study will furnish us with more elaborated knowledge of what constitutes schooling in the society and where the limits of educational reforms lie.

In saying that, I have answered the second question on how pedagogical innovations influence practice. In seeing the important difference between what regulates the context of formulation and what regulates the context of realization the answer is that an educational innovation when formulated never will be the same when implemented. Of course innovations change practice if the innovation changes any of the objective frames given for the practice, i.e., resources, text material, etc., but <u>how</u> the basic ideas of an innovation are transformed, used and justified in practice can never be answered without a study of what forms the innovation and what forms the actual practice. So, I will return to the AERA meeting in 1985 and hopefully be able to explain how at least parts of the new curriculum and the various innovations in it have influenced the practice of schooling.

This leads me to the last question on what lessons curriculum theorists can learn from studying practice. My point is that the study of practice is the core curriculum for theorists. I can see no other way of gaining knowledge. But I have also tried to point out that practice has to be understood in at least two senses.

One is the practice of formulation: Where do we formulate ideas? And what are the origins of ideas or innovations? What do these innovations represent in the codification of what education is and ought to be? Or in other words, what constitutes the context of formulation? The second is the practice of education or the context of realization of curricula. What are the power relations that justify one practice and not the other? What are the objective constraints for a teaching process - the frame factors? How do traditions form the perception of what is a legitimate practice? In identifying these questions and in answering we can generate a knowledge that must be the base for curriculum theory. Schwab has announced that curriculum theory is dead. It may be true but that depends on how curriculum theory is defined. Now to close the circle and return to the introductory notes on progressivism. Curriculum theory built on the progressive notion that curricula can be planned by a rational process seems to have little life. But curriculum theory as the explanation of how curricula are formulated and realized is not dead; it is born anew.

I hope the idealistic normative curriculum theories are replaced in the future by the scientific study of how curricula are formulated and realized and that such scientific work will increase the basis for knowledge not to be used as a technology but as a deep structure for thinking. It is in the span between schooling and education, in the span between the objective constraints for schooling in the society and the utopias of education that pedagogy as a science and curriculum theory can have a cultural impact.

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